

# PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 640

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THREE PENCE

## ÜDVÖZLET MAGYAR OLVASÓINKHOZ!

PEACE News angliai pacifista lap, de ugyszólván a világ minden országában vannak olvasói. A kiadóhivatal reméli, hogy alkalmunk lesz még több külföldi olvasót találni, mert tisztában vagyunk avval, hogy azok az eszmék, melyekért Peace News küzd, csak akkor valósulnak meg ha az emberiség háborúellenes egysége a különböző nemzetiségű államok viszállyai fölött győzedelmeskedni fog.

Mi olyan világrend megvalósításán dolgozunk, melyben háborukat kiküszöböltek és hol a nemzetek egy új békes közösséget alapították meg. Reméljük, hogy ön lapunkat érdekesnek fogja találni. Baráti üdvözléseinket küldjük önnek, úgy e lap szerkesztősége névében, mint annak a pacifista mozgalomnak képviselőjében, melynek ügyet lapunk szolgálja.

## FIGHTING SHY OF THE CENTRE OF THE PROBLEM

WITHOUT having to show anything in the way of improvement for the change, the centre of international interest has moved this week from Moscow to Paris.

Yesterday and today, Saturday, Sept. 28, have been the first two days in my personal experience since the last week in August 1939 during which I have seen ordinary men, typical of the masses of this country displaying their astoundingly resigned, completely unemotional expectation of the early outbreak of war. Yesterday morning, instead of greeting me with his usual remark about the weather, the liftman who

## COMMENTARY by ROY SHERWOOD

takes me up to my office said: "I don't think it'll be much longer now," and at lunchtime I overheard a good deal of the conversation between two men at the next table, with the ever-recurring refrain: "Well, what can you do about it—it's got to come."

### Cold "Hot" War

It is just this helplessness that is so tragic in the bright light it throws on the contrast between individuals' and nations' feelings. Horrible as it is, war would be less revolting if the people themselves were all straining to fly at each other's throats. But that only comes, if it comes at all, after months of the propaganda parts of warfare have done their work. Man has not gained much from his growth and gradual hardening into a lot of different national units. It makes one wonder about the nature of the fundamental urge that has driven him in that direction.

In centuries past wars were mostly dynastic, fought with the aid of mercenaries between a number of princes to decide which of them should have the right (!) to rule over the people whose taxability they coveted, and over areas they fancied in order to make their personal position more important. But when that ceased and there might have been hope for better things, it only made room for a spirit of nationalism that added large chunks of ignorance to the unsavoury motives for which the wars of earlier days had been fought. And now we have reached a further stage—the stage of positive—and positively false—knowledge.

### Instinctive distortion

PERHAPS, though, I ought to say of almost instinctive distortion (CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

## A Speech the Press Ignored

# WAR WILL INCREASE—NOT END—TYRANNY

Rhys Davies, M.P. warns Commons

"WE presumed to fight the last war to free the human soul, and at the end of it the human soul was more firmly imprisoned in Europe than ever. I am positive that if another war breaks out in Europe to try to prevent the spread of Communism further West, that Communist conception will grow and thrive on the garbage that is left after the conflict. Therefore, instead of preventing the spread of Communism by fighting against it we shall be creating the very conditions upon which it will thrive."

THIS was the warning addressed to the House of Commons, in last week's foreign affairs debate, by the pacifist M.P. for Westhoughton, Mr. Rhys Davies.

In a memorable speech, unreported in the popular Press, the veteran Welsh Socialist reiterated his conviction that neither Britain itself nor the values for which Britain stands could be saved by a third World War.

A clash over Berlin, he said, was imminent. "If there is no anticipation of a clash, how comes it that my country has adopted military conscription in peace-time? How comes it that we talk so glibly of a great expansion of Civil Defence? I have actually received a letter from the Secretary of State for War asking me to go on the platform of a recruiting campaign. I should not be surprised if I got my calling-up papers before long."

"We have," he went on, "all the arrangements made which are abhorrent to me—recruiting, slowing down demobilisation, postponing demobilisation for three months, and before the three months are over for another three months, and then probably an Act of Parliament to extend military conscription from one year to two years and maybe three, and so it goes on."

"I have the feeling that the human mind in this country is very nearly paralysed by events, accepting everything as if we could control nothing whatsoever. Let me say, therefore, that although I do

not know enough how to approach the Russians, how to deal with them, I am sure of one thing—that a war will not conquer Communism or any other 'ism' for that matter."

"Let me say a word to some of the Russian leaders, some of whom I have met personally: I am a little astonished at the way they have behaved at international conferences. Let no-one believe I have the slightest friendship towards totalitarianism of any kind. I think it is the foulest form of government that has been conceived since the days of the Pharaohs. I have no faith in a few members of the working class themselves—and I am one of them—dictating to the rest of their comrades. A dictator is the same whether he is a capitalist, a landlord, a banker, a coalminer or an engineer—all tyrants are of a type."

### CURSE OF INTOLERANCE

"Having seen much of this sick old world," Rhys Davies confessed, "let me say that I have seen no better country than this. The curse of mankind is intolerance. There is no intolerance as such in this House of Commons, otherwise it would not suffer me. More than that, if I spoke as I speak here, under Mussolini, Hitler or Stalin, I would be shot, and I do not want to be shot. So I prefer the House of Commons to totalitarian institutions."

At the same time, he could not but be offended by the presence of American aircraft on the soil of Britain, just as he would be offended by the presence of Russian; and he doubted whether the people of Britain were

prepared to countenance another war so soon after the last. "In the first world war there were 12,000\* conscientious objectors in this country. In the second world war there were 60,000 of them. How many will there be if there is a war with Russia?"

"I will not prophecy too much about a third world war," he concluded, "but the weapons which would be used in the next war would shock the human imagination. I doubt if civilisation in this country could survive. When the Foreign Secretary says that the British race must survive, I would suggest that if we go to war there is less chance of our survival than there is if we have peace."

### GOSPEL OF PEACE

"These arguments may not prevail much. I detest war; I want peace. I cannot tell how to get peace. I do not know. All I know is this: if one man in one country, a dozen men in many countries, preach the gospel of peace as some of us are trying to do here, mankind may begin to listen, as they did when once upon a time a young Jewish gentleman, two thousand years ago, died on Calvary, who could, if He had wished, have joined the Roman Legions and become a Field-Marshal in the Roman Army."

"He preferred to die for a set of principles, with the result that churches, chapels and monasteries have been built to His memory all over the world. If He had become a Field-Marshal in the Roman Legions not a stone would have been placed upon another stone to commemorate His life in this world."

\* Actual figures 16,000.

Rhys Davies' contemporaries

## THE "TEN YEAR MEN" OF 1916



They said "No" to war in 1916 and were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Some had had the death sentence read out to them and then commuted to ten years' imprisonment.

Peace News this week is reduced to four pages to make paper available for

**EIGHT PAGES NEXT WEEK**

when a special issue, launching the PPU's Peace Week, will appear.

See page four.



# PEACE NEWS

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## ZERO-HOUR

**T**HERE appears to be little doubt that Peace News was right in predicting that the Western Powers would use the Berlin dispute as a wedge to split UNO in two. Alike in the Lords' debate and the discussion on the agenda at Paris, the abolition of the Veto has been persistently and ominously raised. More significant still was one passage in Mr. Bevin's retort to Mr. Vishinsky last Monday:

"If we (the United Nations) cannot proceed on a world basis, as we hoped, we must proceed on a regional basis. It is perhaps out of this that there may yet grow that World Government for which humanity yearns, and towards which it has been striving and struggling so long."

If any pacifist supporter of World Government takes that for encouragement, he had better think again. The Veto represented Russia's safeguard against an organisation on which Communists were in a minority; had Communists been in a majority on UNO, America might have "abused" it no less. The World Government of which Mr. Bevin dreams is one which Russia will never voluntarily enter.

The stage is being set for a decisive break with Russia. More ominous even than the news of the last two weeks has been the way in which the British papers have presented it. Gone now is all pretence of objectivity; the familiar war-time note of self-righteous recrimination resounds. And not only Lord Vansittart, from whom nothing reasonable is to be expected, but Mr. Bevin himself, has tuned in his voice to that note:

"If the black fury, the incalculable disaster, of atomic war should fall upon us" (not, be it noted, "be loosed by us"). "all I can say is that one Power, by refusing its co-operation in the control and development of those great new forces for the good of humanity, will alone be responsible for the evils which may be visited upon mankind."

At such a moment it is well to remind ourselves that this is arrant nonsense. It is quite possible—we believe it is highly probable—that the Communist belief in the inevitability of imperialist aggression would have led to an armaments-race even if America and Britain had done all in their power to persuade the Kremlin of their peaceful intentions. But we shall never know, and for this reason: that America and Britain have repeatedly acted in such a way as to confirm the Kremlin in that belief.

By concealing their possession of the atom-bomb until it was dropped on Japan, they showed their own distrust of their Ally; by insisting upon the Russians disclosing the secrets of their industrial and military establishment—the chief weapon in their defensive arsenal—to an international inspectorate before destroying the atom-bombs, at a time when even without them America would have been the strongest power on earth, they revealed the real measure of their will for peace.

All this does not mean that Russia's behaviour has been any more consistent with her peaceful protestations: if anything, it has been less. But it does mean that Mr. Bevin's statement is false, pharisaical and dangerous in the extreme.

For it may be too late to avoid a break with Russia; it may even be all to the good that an organisation like UNO, which has done little but darken counsel with sound and fury, should dissolve (the last two years have taught us that secret diplomacy has its advantages)—but, if that break is not to spell disaster, one condition is indispensable: a clear recognition by the Western Powers that they, as well as Russia, have missed precious, irretrievable opportunities; a no less clear determination to seize whatever new ones arise. The one is dependent upon the other.

HENRY HOLM writes from BERLIN:

## We Germans are being taught Democracy

**T**HE Japanese are more fortunate than we are. They are only under one Occupation Power, not four, and the one is, furthermore, under the command of General MacArthur, who has shown much understanding of the actual world situation.

So the Japanese have already a Constitution, with an article, made by the old pacifist Kagawa and approved by General MacArthur, which reads:

"War, as a sovereign right to the nation, and the threat of the use of force, is forever renounced as a means of settling disputes. The maintenance of land, sea and air forces will never be authorised. The right of belligerency of the State will not be recognised."

This was written two years ago. But now, another American General, Blamey, is crying that Japan should be rebuilt as an industrial power to serve as a barrier against Communism.

I do not know whether all the Japanese, two years ago, accepted with whole-hearted sincerity the above-quoted pacifist statement. Maybe there are some who nurse a certain resentment against Americans who dropped atomic bombs on two Japanese towns, killing nearly 200,000 civilians.

### Japanese dreams

Such Japanese, should they exist, may have their own ideas about building up a new Japanese war potential in order to fight Communism. I think it possible that they may dream of using such a potential, once it comes into existence, not against the Russians but against those who destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The fact that there is much economic misery in Japan, favourable often to the thriving of Communism, may add to such a trend. Therefore, the creation of a new industrial potential in Japan is an enterprise not without a certain risk for the Americans.

But that is not the main point. The nations that lost the war were to be taught what Democracy means. In the first lesson, the Japanese had to learn that Democracy means Peace, that every thought of using force had to be discarded for ever. The second lesson now is that Force has to be maintained in order to fight a social system born out of economic misery. So what they learned in the first lesson was wrong?

They have come to the point, in their study of the meaning of Democracy where they are told that their country is valuable as an aircraft carrier against Russia. I can imagine that many Japanese don't like the idea. Have the Russians got the atomic bomb? When will they have it? It is possible that they may have an interest one day in destroying such an American aircraft carrier.

We all know that there are more

such American aircraft carriers. Great Britain is one, where the first planes are already present, Iceland, Greece, Cyprus are others. At least in Great Britain many people have already manifested that they do not like the role assigned to them. America is far off, but the Russians might well strike back at such aircraft carriers as Britain, Iceland, Japan.

Still this is not the essential point. We once were told that Democracy meant that the people had to decide their own fate. Here the Japanese are not even asked about their wishes. Whether they are to be a nation that has renounced war or an aircraft carrier against Russia, depends only upon the interests of the United States. Is that now Democracy?

Let us turn to Germany. One statement first: I am not ashamed to belong to one of the conquered nations. I neither planned the war nor did I take part in it. I was in prison before it started and got out when it was over. To belong to a conquered nation means at least that I am not inclined to become as haughty as the victors often are.

We also are being taught Democracy. The effect is rather poor.

### Youth looks at Goebbels

Let us consider a German youth, aged twenty, and the attitude that is asked from him respecting one single person, Dr. Josef Goebbels.

Before the "little doctor" committed suicide on May 5, 1945, after having killed his wife and children, the young German, then sixteen years old, had to consider all Dr. Goebbels said or wrote as definite truth. Woe betide him should he ever utter the slightest doubt or criticism! His very life would be in danger.

On May 8, 1945, new authorities were established in Germany, one German and four foreign. They were all unanimous on one point: that Dr. Goebbels was a liar, a fool, a criminal. Not a word was true of what he had ever said. The young German, eighteen years old now, had to believe this. Woe betide him should he venture to utter the slightest doubt or criticism!

For some people, those who have no opinion of their own, it is easy to shift over from one extreme to the other within twenty-four hours. Those who find a certain difficulty in

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Womens' Peace Campaign

**A**T the end of last August two letters were published in the national press, resulting in a flood of several hundred replies. The letters were on the subject of Women and Peace, and the hundreds of replies which followed, were from women all over the country and abroad; all enthusiastic in the cause of Peace.

As an outcome of this "The Women's Peace Campaign" has come into being: branches are being opened in Cambridgeshire and Yorks, and others are being formed.

Expressions of good wishes to the Campaign have been received from Naomi Jacob (the well known novelist), Edith Evans (celebrated actress) Sylvia E. Pankhurst and many others.

Some of the letters received from the general public were amusing, some tragic. More than one woman stated that rather than endure another war and see her children frightened and suffer, she would die by her own hand, and they with her.

One from a man, a chief steward, suggested that women should refuse to get meals, make beds, or do any other of the household tasks that housewives take in their stride, unless or until their menfolk become peace minded and refused to work for war. He also suggested that if women were as assiduous in doing this as many of them were in handing out white feathers during the war, they should get results.

The Women's Peace Campaign is absolutely non-political and non-sectarian and open to all women to join, everywhere.

ETHEL A. LEWIS.

The Manse, Brill,  
Nr. Aylesbury, Bucks.

### What more?

**BRUCE ODSBUR** says in his Commentary of September 2: "Unless the Israeli Government takes far more drastic steps than hitherto to eradicate these terrorists organisations root and branch, its reputation will be lastingly blighted."

Following Count Bernadotte's assassination, hundreds of terrorists were rounded up and jailed, and the "Stern Gang" outlawed, by the Israeli Government; the Irgun Zvai Leumi promised to accept "national discipline." (The latter had nothing to do with this despicable murder). These steps were fully reported in the daily Press. What "far more drastic steps" does Bruce Odsbur suggest? The death penalty?

ERNST LAZARUS.

6/355, The Highway, E.I.

### Relief for Russia

**DREW PEARSON'S** idea of sending aid to the devastated areas of Russia prompts me to ask if any thing can be done for these areas similar to the Save Europe Now Campaign for Germany. If it can, it is long overdue and the fact that it has not been done yet a serious omission. Is it possible to send food and clothing to the needy Russians?

N. E. BLAKE.

23 Canute Road,  
Faversham, Kent.

## Campaigning

The National Council has decided to launch a new campaign with a three-fold purpose:

1. To win fresh adherents to the pledge;
2. To urge that negotiations remain the only way of settlement for the present difficulties, and a reliance on passive resistance to meet a failure in negotiations;
3. To persuade the British people to accept a policy of complete unilateral disarmament.

To help us publish the necessary leaflets and other printed matter please send a special contribution to Headquarters Fund and encourage us to go

## Ahead

MAUD ROWNTREE,

Hon. Treasurer.

Contributions since Sept. 17: £20 13s. Total for 1948: £178 16s. 8d.

Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

so sudden a change are not always bad characters.

Now, three years after the end of hostilities, the attitude of the young man, now twenty, has once more to be quite different.

### Three years later

If he happens to be living at Lubeck, Hanover, or Hof in Bavaria, he is told by the authorities, German, British, American, that Dr. Goebbels of course was a liar and a criminal. But on one point the little doctor was quite right. All he said about the danger of Communism—that was wonderful. Clever fellow, that little doctor! You may believe all he ever said to that effect, and we are willing to add some new arguments to those he put before you.

Should the young man, on the other hand, move some miles farther East, to Schwerin, Magdeburg or Jena, the German and Russian authorities, teaching him Democracy, would use different expressions. Dr. Goebbels was a liar and a criminal, certainly; but on one point he was really wonderful: he had found out in time how rotten American and British capitalism were, how they exploited the working class. A good brain, that little doctor had, and you may continue to use his arguments to this effect—we even are willing to offer you some new ones.

So our boy has had to change his attitude towards Dr. Goebbels three times in a little over three years. First, all that Goebbels said was as the Gospel. Then all was a lie. Now half is true, half is untrue. But which half is true and which untrue, that depends upon the geographical latitude and longitude.

Imagine what would become of the boy, should he say in Saxony that Communism is a disgrace to mankind and American capitalism our saviour! Or if he should say in Bavaria that American capitalism was exploiting us to the very last and Communism was our hope! His teachers of Democracy would soon show him where he was! How are the German young people reacting to this sort of teaching?

### Thinking still dangerous

Some do what they are told to do, without thinking. As it may prove to be dangerous tomorrow to utter an opinion today, better shut up! Keep silent and keep smiling! Still better, have no opinion, and put wax in one's ears.

Others go to football matches or the black market and think that politics are rotten anyhow.

But there is still a third group. They listen with fierce interest to all that their teachers of Democracy yell into their ears from East and West, firmly resolved not to believe anything. There even exists a certain danger of a new nationalism, and of a feeling of solidarity with the Japanese. A "Commonwealth of the Conquered Nations," so to speak. We are all in the same boat. We are being taught Democracy, and we are realising that our teachers from East and West think, first of all, of safeguarding their own political and economic interests.

The old fancies are gone. New illusions are breaking down. One thing remains: the voice of our own conscience. As long as we follow that, we shall not miss the right way.



# GERMAN EX-POWs TO BE DEPORTED

## Will Protest Be Effective?

ON June 4 Peace News gave front page prominence to a report that Germans, formerly prisoners of war, who had been permitted to remain in this country to continue their agricultural work, were to be repatriated, whether they wished to go back to Germany or not. Government sources then admitted that such a step was under consideration at the highest level, but that no decision had yet been taken.

This week a joint announcement from the Ministries of Agriculture and Labour states that those in the employ of individual farmers will be permitted to remain if their employers are willing to offer them continued engagement. Only agricultural work approved by the Ministry of Labour must be taken, and it must not displace or substitute for British, Polish or European volunteer workers. Germans who, before Aug. 31, were married to a British woman can apply to the Home Office for permission to remain in any case.

In answer to a question in the House of Commons, Mr. Herbert Morrison said that the Home Secretary would deal with any applications for men to be allowed to remain on compassionate or other grounds. "Such cases," he added, "will be dealt with on their merits, though I should make it clear that in the main those prisoners who are no longer required will have to return to Germany."

This means that large numbers of men who have been working in

agricultural camps in Scotland and elsewhere, and who cannot get suitable private employment in a short time will be deported to Germany.

For those who live in the Western Zones it means that men who have in many cases lost their homes and their families will be returned to a country where no jobs are waiting for them, and where they will be unwelcome because they are an addition to the workless, and because they have "collaborated" with the British.

### GRIM PROSPECTS

For those whose homes are in the Russian Zone, the prospect is even more grim. Most of them are, probably justifiably, terrified of being sent back there. The Government will not force that, but will release them in the Western Zones. Here they will have no shelter or means of subsistence, and will merely swell the ghastly hosts of refugees.

These times see many strange things. One of them is that a socialist Government cannot be made to understand that it is just as wrong to keep men here as slaves when it suits our economy, as it is to deprive them of their shelter, food and work when it becomes inconvenient.

The National Council of the PPU, meeting last week-end, decided to take this matter up with Members of Parliament.

T.R.D.

The watchwords of the nineteenth century have been: struggle for existence, competition, class warfare, commercial antagonism between nations, military warfare. The struggle for existence has been construed into the gospel of hate. The full conclusion to be drawn from a philosophy of evolution is fortunately of a more balanced character. Successful organisms modify their environment. Those organisms are successful which modify their environments so as to assist each other. This law is exemplified in nature on a vast scale.

—Professor A. N. Whitehead.

# SHE WORKED WITH THE PIONEERS

MANY members of the old No-Conscription Fellowship and their friends living in South London during the First World War will hear with regret of the passing on Sept. 4 at the age of 83 of their staunch friend M. Jennie Street.

"Jennie," as she was known to all of that band, enthusiastically backed by her two sisters, kept open house at 8 Endymion Road, Brixton Hill, literally day and night during all those difficult years. A Quaker of deep conviction she gave of her best to the Peace Movement and in spite of the fullest possible life devoted to many aspects of Christian work, she was never too busy to talk to anyone who needed her.

Some of us must have been immature cranks but Jennie had the right touch for everyone and nothing was too much trouble. She would attend tribunals, visit prisons, give helpful advice and sympathy, be a charming hostess at the frequent social gatherings under her roof and in fact, be at our beck and call whenever we wanted her. Yet in some miraculous fashion—by working at her typewriter all night I used to suspect—she kept her journalistic and other work up to date. Her work was her life and she kept going till within a few days of the end and she kept the faith.

We owe her much and her memory will remain an inspiration as long as those who who knew her live.

F.M.B.

## Norwegian Students Aid Refugees

By Reginald Spink

Worldover Press Correspondent

NORWEGIAN students, noted for their firm resistance to the Nazi occupation, have organised a fund to enable 10 Czech political refugees to study for three years at Norwegian universities and technical colleges, beginning this autumn. Candidates must have done some previous study and must have a consistently democratic record, but there are no other requirements.

The project is supported by student bodies of different political outlook, and has the sympathy of the government and school authorities. Special tuition in Norwegian will be provided, and if a longer period of study is found necessary the Czechs will qualify for public loans on equal footing with Norwegian students.

Plans are being worked out so that similar help may soon be given to 10 exiles from Franco's Spain.

The latest PPU give-away leaflet.

## The speech the Press ignored RHYS DAVIES'

House of Commons appeal for a peace-making policy now

(Summarised on page 1 of this issue)

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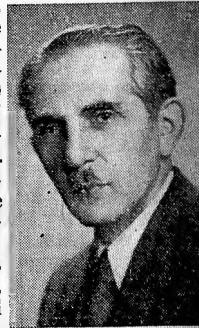
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# Pacifist Profiles IX

"ONE of the finest spiritual and moral leaders of our time," Upton Sinclair once called Eugen Relgis, Rumanian member of the World Council of the War Resisters International.

Born at Jassy in 1895, Eugen Relgis studied architecture, philosophy and literature at Bucharest. For a time he worked on buildings and factories, but after 1920 devoted himself entirely to writing and lecturing. His works, apart from innumerable articles contributed to pacifist and other periodicals in many countries, include novels and poems, books on travel and such famous sociological studies as *The Principle of Humanitarianism* (prefaced by Albert Einstein), and *Muted Voices*, of which Stefan Zweig wrote: "The book is addressed to those who are able to hear when the tragic and obscure assume a universal value through the profoundly humanitarian sentiments of the author."



Eugen Relgis

A brilliant linguist, Eugen Relgis has also translated into Rumanian works by Gandhi, Rolland, Tagore and many other pacifists. The unity of all pacifist organisations has always been his particular concern; and in 1932 he was responsible for the world survey, *Roads to Peace*, compiled with the help of Romain Rolland and a hundred-and-sixty others. The German edition of this book was one of the first to be destroyed by Hitler in 1934, but it has been published in French, Rumanian and Spanish.

In 1937, Eugen Relgis was awarded the Peace Prize by the New History Society of New York. Two years later, despite pressing invitations to stay in America, he chose to return to Bucharest, where he remained throughout the Fascist, Nazi and Legionary dictatorships, escaping one persecution after another. For two years after the war he continued to publish books and articles under the new regime; but finally the censorship imposed by the Communist rulers became too much for him, he departed, via France and Italy, for Uruguay. He is now settled with his family at Montevideo, but still carrying on his literary and lecturing activities in the cause of peace.

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Owing to the increasing pressure on our advertising space we must ask that all copy for displayed insertion should reach us not later than the Thursday morning eight days prior to publication.

Our displayed advertisement rates remain at the low rate of 10s. per single column inch and we shall welcome enquiries from readers wishing to make use of this service.

### MEETINGS

LONDON AREA Council Sunday October 3, 3 p.m. 6, Endsleigh St., W.C.1. Frank Lea, Editor of Peace News, will move and Jack Sutherland, Chairman of the Area will oppose. That Present Pacifist Policy should include Opposition to Communism." Open Forum. Pooled Tea.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### ACCOMMODATION

YOUNG ITALIAN lady urgently needs accommodation. Expecting early return to Rome. Please help. Box 955.

MARRIED TEACHER requires unfurnished accommodation to rent or to share house by end of October. Cheltenham district. Box 954.

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YOUR MEETINGS are incomplete without a bookstall. Selections of current books, pamphlets and Peace News are available on sale or return from Housmans, 124 Shaftesbury Ave., W.1; PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1; or Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.



# End UNO slanging-matches

## COMMENTARY CONTINUED

of facts. Here is what *Candidus* writes in the Daily Graphic (24.9.48) with an invitation that we ought to learn from history:

"Our forefathers were more of historians than we are . . . they knew that Russia's ambition was to go on swelling until it possessed the whole of Europe. . . . What-ever else may change in Russia, its expansionist ambitions remain. . . . Russian expansionism is now more virulent than it ever was under the Tsars. And it is infinitely more successful, largely because, with a stupidity almost unbelievable, we helped Russia so powerfully in 1941. . . . We forgot history then. We are paying for our forgetfulness now, and so is Europe. . . . More and more austerity is our reward for having saved Russia from Germany. . . . The Kremlinites are incapable of gratitude or of any of the decencies."

The article from which these excerpts are taken begins with the sentence: "History books ought to be re-written every fifty years"—to which I feel impelled to add that it is a good thing for *Candidus* that the bulk of daily newspapers is destroyed long before five years. If they were not, his present wisdom about Russia might look odd in juxtaposition with what he wrote until less than five years ago, about Germany.

On the other side of the fence, every Russian "knows" on the authority of Pravda that our capitalistic bosses are so afraid of what would happen to them if we ever succeeded in slackening our chains, that they are frantically determined to smash the Soviet Heaven before its spreading fame can "put ideas" into our slave-heads. And all those who read Soviet News regularly know that the Russian authorities are anxious to have it known abroad that everything connected with the present and future harvests, upon which so much is said to depend in case of war, is doing extraordinary well in every part of Soviet territory.

## Vishinsky proposal

IN Paris, as I am writing, Mr. Vishinsky has just made the first accusation of war-mongering against specific individuals: Mr. James Forrestal, the USA Secretary of Defence, Admiral Leahy, Mr. Kenneth Royall, Senator Bridges and General Kenney—all said to be responsible for what he described as America's new policy of expansion and plans for world domination. They were no longer content, he said, with general pronouncements but were now coming forward "with plans for utilising American aviation and the atomic bomb for the destruction of such Soviet cities as Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov and Odessa."

He characterised the United Nations policy on atomic energy as grossly favouring America and re-assured the Soviet Union's will to peace. And then, interrupted by much more applause than the General Assembly has become used to, he proposed that the Assembly should recommend that each of the Five Great Powers "should reduce by one third, for one year, all present land, naval and air forces and outlaw atomic weapons."

It is easy to see what is unsatisfactory about this proposal to the other side: like all reductions based on percentages, this one disregards the point of total strength from which reductions are to start. Yet it ought not to be rejected out of hand. Whatever a nation's military strength may be, it is barely conceivable that it should be willing to reduce it in any way if it harbours thoughts of aggressive war by military means.

It is too early, as I am writing, to comment on the western powers' reaction to this proposal; but if it could be accepted in com-

bination with a provision for the suspension, also for one year, of the daily slanging-match in speeches, in the Press and over the radio, the end of the twelvemonth would find a good many of us still alive who will be dead if it is rejected.

## Growing cynicism

I AM afraid, however, that it is more likely to be treated as a propaganda stunt, the more so since it is quite obvious that Mr. Marshall's speech of Sept. 23, which impressed the correspondents of The Times and of practically all other papers of the western powers as a straightforward and utterly sincere bid for mutual understanding, was not accepted by the Russians as anything of the kind. There is no longer any secret about the growing cynicism of the Assembly proceedings. Eastern and western delegates who disagree on practically everything else are reported to be agreed on one thing—on whole-hearted condemnation of the contrast between the official speeches delivered in the open Assembly and the opinions, plans and manoeuvres discussed behind the scenes.

Like a litter of young dogs, sneezing, coughing, barking and snarling at each other, squirming around a too-hot dinner that one of them will upset presently with an awkwardly thrust-out paw, the great powers are doing everything but the one thing needed: they are all fighting shy of the attempt to decide what the democracy should be for which they are ready to tear each other to pieces. On this, the central point of all their causes of disagreement, they understand nothing beyond mutual abuse. Yet it sticks out by a mile that other things would fall into place if that one fatal gap could be bridged.

## What is democracy?

IT is stupid to the point of criminality to believe the worst of each other. The fundamental instincts of humanity are the same all over the world. But to say that, does not mean any glossing over of the gigantic difficulty; for gigantic it is, because it is one that affects each one of the millions of individuals that go to make up the two different and opposing sides in this particular issue—the question what is meant by democratic regime for the whole world. Every possibility of progress in that direction remains out of reach as long as we, on our side, shut our eyes to the fact that the Easterners cannot see democracy as we do.

The unfearing liberality of mind needed before a government can dare to allow its critics free expression of opinion is simply not to be expected from people who are barely a generation—and in some cases not even that!—removed from centuries of all-round oppression; and who, moreover, have had plenty of reason since they removed one part of their oppressions by revolution to suspect that the outside world is their enemy.

In that light, too, by the way, we must see the beastly murder of Count Bernadotte in Palestine if we want to keep a sanely balanced judgment. It is sheer hypocrisy to pretend that respect for the rights of the individual—and all the finer feelings on which we in the western world pride ourselves—are fundamentals of human nature.

Any former inmate of a concentration or prisoners-of-war camp can tell us what happens to those "instincts" when existence is debased to the lowest level. It will take years and years of the positive knowledge of their own security to inculcate political tolerance in the people of the East.

## Sidelight

LET me end with a sidelight on the shortcomings of our own democracy. The last sentence of the Synopsis of the new film, "The Winslow Boy," based as everybody knows on a true case of a generation ago, is this: "Arthur Winslow, despite the inroads the legal costs have made on his health and wealth, faces the future happily with the knowledge that in Britain, at least, 'Right will be done' and that the small man will always get a fair deal from British justice." The small man in question stood by hundreds of pounds a year above the average income of the masses of this country. It cost him pretty well the whole of his wealth to establish his son's innocence, and it is doubtful whether he would have succeeded even then if he had not been lucky enough to catch the interest of a man famous in the Law Courts who also happened to be a person of influence in the House of Commons. Does that really suggest that the dice are not loaded against the poor?

# PPU LAUNCH CAMPAIGN FOR NEW MEMBERS

THE Peace Week organised by the Peace Pledge Union for October 10-17 will also see the opening of a new campaign to swell the membership of the PPU and to bring home to the people of Britain the fact that pacifists have a solution to the present deadlock which threatens disaster for the whole world.

Reports coming in from many parts of the country indicate that a ready response from the public is forthcoming wherever the policy outlined in the minute of last week's National Council is put forward.

Several hundred people in Finsbury Park last Sunday heard Bryan Anstey define the PPU's attitude towards the present international situation. His clear call to the people of Britain to give a lead to the world by declaring that they would have done with the use of arms and that they would henceforth stand unarmed, resisting any occupying power—American or Russian—as the Norwegians and Danes resisted during the Nazi occupation, was sympathetically received.

Bryan Anstey asked his audience to be true to the British tradition that had produced a man like Wilberforce

—who by minority action had brought about the abolition of the slave trade; that had produced the Tolpuddle Martyrs who gave their lives in advocating the right of the workers to organise. "The Peace Pledge Union today," he said, "calls Britain to a new task, that of ending the dependence of nations upon arms and warfare for the maintenance of their freedom."

## NEED FOR COURAGE

He warned his audience that to take such a step would need courage, would mean running the risk of death and persecution; such a policy offered no immediate security, only hardship and danger, but the end was worth while. "Atomic war offers you no security, it will not bring peace, it will certainly bring dishonour to those who handle such vile weapons and bring death and destruction to women and children in other countries."

As at previous open-air meetings several members of the audience came forward to enquire how they could join the PPU.

Ipswich PPU will be holding a public meeting during Peace Week. It will be addressed by the Duke of Bedford on the subject: "Unilateral disarmament or destruction in atomic war—A third alternative for Britain."

## THE TASK BEFORE US

The PPU National Council issued the two following minutes after their meeting on Sept. 26:

TO win adherents to the pledge, to renounce war, remains the main task of the Peace Pledge Union, which it expects members to make their first and urgent concern.

Since there are no differences between the governments which can justify war or be solved by violence, the PPU is ready to co-operate in the present urgent situation where possible with all who are endeavouring to avoid a third world war.

Negotiation remains the only possible way of settlement, and a reliance on passive resistance if negotiations should fail.

The Peace Pledge Union urges the British nation to pursue this way and to accept a policy of complete unilateral disarmament.

The National Council is launching a new campaign to achieve these objectives.

While recognising that many members of the PPU believe in some form of World Government the National Council is not able to include support for it in the present policy of the Peace Pledge Union.

## NEXT WEEK'S PEACE NEWS

NEXT week's special issue of Peace News will contain full details of the PPU Peace Week and also fully outline for new readers the attitude of the PPU in the present crisis.

It will be especially suitable for door-to-door and street selling, calling on all who read its pages to join in the task of abolishing war through membership of the PPU, the British section of the War Resisters' International.

Additional copies are being printed and will be available on "sale or return" conditions. Free posters and other publicity material is available. Orders for this and extra copies of Peace News should be sent off with the minimum of delay.

Every reader is asked to play a part at this critical time in getting the message of the Peace Pledge Union to the public.

If you cannot join forces with another local PN reader in street selling or door-to-door canvassing, buy extra copies or leaflets and leave them wherever people may pick them up; in buses, trains, trams or waiting rooms. See that no local meeting fails to have a Peace News seller or leaflet distributor standing outside the door.

When you have done this, let Peace News know the result.

Congratulations this week to two 17-years-old Birmingham girls who went street selling for the first time recently and sold 100 copies between them, also to the sellers outside Finsbury Park who sold 36 copies last Sunday morning.

H.M.

## PPU JOURNAL

A SPECIAL sixteen-page number of the PPU Journal, published this week with the title, "Into Action," is devoted to the field work of the Peace Pledge Union.

New posters, handbills and leaflets for free distribution are available from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. Groups or members willing to distribute them may secure them free of charge.

It is not too early to plan your sales of

PPU

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## WAR — WE SAY NO

London Area of the PPU will hold a meeting at

KINGSWAY HALL

London, W.C.1.

on

Friday, Oct. 15 at 7.30 p.m.

SPEAKERS:

Sybil Morrison

and

Rhys Davies, M.P.

Chair: Lord Faringdon